1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

113 *Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la civilización de la Araucanía.* 9 vols. in 10, Santiago, 1898-1922. [The various volumes appeared in the AUC, commencing with Tomo CI, and elsewhere; often they were reprinted as separates with a different date. Guevara, born in Curicó 1865, spent several years as rector of the *liceo* of Temuco, in the heart of the Araucanía, died 1935.]

*P. Luis MANSILLA VIDAL, O. F. M.: *Las Misiones Franciscanas de la Araucanía.* Angol, 1904. [1853-?]

Aurelio DIAZ MEZA: *En la Araucanía. Breve relación del último parlamento araucano de Coz-Coz en 18 de enero de 1907.* Santiago, 1907. [1879-1933.]

Roberto LAGOS: *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillán. Propagación del Santo Evangelio entre les Araucanos.* Barcelona, 1908.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Seis años de la historia de Chile, 1598-1605.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1908.

*Domingo AMUNÁTEGUI Y SOLAR: *Las encomiendas de indíjenas en Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1909-10. [Born Santiago, 1860; twice rector of university.]

Francisco Javier OVALLE CASTELLO: *Chile en la región austral. El desenvolvimiento de Temuco.* Santiago, 1911.

Ignacio de PAMPLONA: *Historia de las misiones de los P. P. Capuchinos en Chile y la Argentina.* Santiago, 1911.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Historia de Chile. Pedro de Valdivia.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1911-1912.

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de Chile: Chile prehispánico.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1925-27.

Juan A. VALDERRAMA: *Diccionario histórico-geográfico de la Araucana.* 2nd ed., Santiago, 1927.

*Richard Edward LATCHAM CARTWRIGHT: *La prehistoria chilena.* Santiago, 1928. [Outstanding anthropologist, born in Bristol, England, 1869; came to Chile 1888; director Museo Nacional de Historia Natural 1928- .]

Otto BERNINGER: *Wald und offenes Land in Süd-Chile zeit der spanischen Eroberung.* Stuttgart, 1929.

175 648 After the establishment of the Chilean republic, the Chileans recognized the territorial integrity of Araucanía until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then began the planned colonization (1850-) of western Europeans—chiefly Germans, Britishers, French, and Iberians —in the various borderlands of Araucanía. Here only (essentially 37° to 44° S. Lat.) were there unoccupied lands, timber, water, and climate favorable for agriculturalists from western Europe. However, most of the land was claimed by the Araucanians, and much of this was too waterlogged or too densely vegetated to be attractive to farmers. Friction developed between the Indians and the immigrants, who settled mainly in the southern mainland in the province of Valdivia. Unsuccessful participants in the Chilean insurrections of 1851 and 1859 went among the Araucanians and stirred them up to a warlike activity, 1859-62. This was also the period, 1861-62, of the French adventurer king of Araucanía—Orélie-Antoine I. The demonstrated intention of the Chileans to advance at Araucanian expense (e.g., the law of 1868

[134]

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land – the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast, there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market. Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep, in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered. Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[433] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to
132 cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[621] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

1 [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]